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mate with them I was always treated courteously. For my canoe they offered more paddlers than I needed. I used to leave my trunks open when I temporarily left the house where I was a guest, the baggage containing articles coveted by the Indians. They would rummage through my gear to the very bottom and knew better than I what each piece contained, but during all this long period of living among them, they robbed me of—two cigarettes! This was the experience likewise of the botanist Ricardo Fróes, who, as has been said, also lived among them in various localities for several months in 1941.

There are, therefore, certain persons toward whom the Tukuna feel a moral obligation, but for this they must be convinced that the person with whom they are dealing is incapable of lying to them or exploiting them, a conviction which presupposes, on the part of the strangers, a frank and friendly attitude toward the native culture.

However, with their own tribesmen they do not always consider similar conduct absolutely obligatory, so that one finds examples of notorious hostility, ill will, and even dishonesty. The Tukuna were exemplary in their honesty with Ricardo Fróes and myself, but I was present once at a feast when an Indian ripped open with his knife another man's sack of clothes, deliberately stealing them; and there are other confirmed thefts from houses during the Indian owners' absence.

Actually, under normal conditions the Tukuna are calm and pacific, but some of them become insolent and dangerous when drunk. Frequently, at their drinking bouts at least one major quarrel occurs, and often there are injuries and fatalities. At first I took these scenes only for the end products of old hatreds and resentments, thinking that all these offenses and crimes had some serious motive, more or less unknown, which the Indians concealed. But I was finally convinced that this was not so. The Indians describe these affairs without constraint and in detail, but when one inquires the reason for the disorder, "They fight because they want to" is the only explanation that one obtains, or "So-and-so always fights when he is drunk"; the event is thus sufficiently explained.

Strangely enough, a quarrel of this sort never broke out in my presence, though I attended a good number of their drinking bouts. On one occasion an Indian armed himself with a machete to attack another, but my fixing my eyes upon him with the natural interest that the situation deserved was enough to make him pass the weapon to the other and draw off. Accordingly, I believe that if at these affairs a person were present who exercised some moral authority, all such quarrels could be nipped in the bud. The trouble is, that among all these Tukuna there is apparently no one whose authority they will recognize. Their individualism, concretely expressed in their habit of living in isolated houses, and in the absence of any bond except the blood tie, will not tolerate the intervention of a chief in their outbursts of anger or in their personal problems.

I know of no other tribe in which one may observe such sudden transports of fury and examples of lack of self-control as occur now and then among the Tukuna. From childhood they differ from other Indians in this respect. They quarrel like civilized children, and in their houses I have heard almost as much bellowing from enraged youngsters as in Neobrazilian homes. I have observed little brothers, in childish pranks, chasing each other with a machete or a firebrand. One day a little

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girl nine years old and her brother of seven were at the door of their house. The girl, amusing herself by killing minnows on the bank with a machete, cut herself lightly on the leg and started to wail. The boy, seeing the alarmed father approaching on the run, thought it best not to trust to the paternal judgment and, finding his escape blocked, threw himself into the water and fled by swimming, although he was entirely innocent. The father, seeing his blood-stained daughter and the fleeing boy, concluded without further reflection that the latter had wounded his sister. The boy was already out of reach, so the father seized a paddle weighing at least three kilograms and without hesitation hurled it after the fugitive. The missile struck the child's head, by the merest chance not killing him but opening up a wide gash in his scalp. The father, still infuriated, ignored the possible consequences, left the injured boy in the igapó, and returned to the house with the girl. Only at dusk the mother heard the boy's sobs in the jungle and went out to fetch him home.

An Indian of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, Cazemiro nuu°kị, flew into a temper at his wife one day, unjustly suspecting that she had been unfaithful. Terrified at her husband's rage, the woman fled into the jungle and could not bring herself to return, no matter how often and persistently he called her. Then Cazemiro in his fury set fire to the house and with his machete leveled all the fruit trees that he himself had planted about it. A little later he made his peace with the woman, but because their place had been destroyed, he and the woman were obliged to move in with her parents until he had shamefacedly rebuilt it. I know of still another instance of an Indian's destroying all his personal belongings with his own hands.

More tragic than these imbecilities are the suicides committed in rage. In 1941 a woman, some thirty years old, who lived with her parents at Barreiras de Belém went to the riverbank in a mood of drunken melancholy. There she drank a little rum and bought another bottle, which she took to her mother. The latter replied that the daughter could keep the rum; she wanted none of it. With no further word the daughter proceeded to the neighboring garden clearing (*roça*), dissolved fish drug (timbó) in a gourd of water, and drank it. Someone heard her faint cry, but since no one suspected what she was doing, no importance was attached to it, and it was not until later that the body of the suicide was found.

A week afterward, this same woman's nephew, called Beni, about twenty years old, also committed suicide in the same spot by drinking timbó. Before daybreak he had gone out to fish, returning about nine o'clock with a surubím, which he handed to his wife, a very young girl whom he had married just a short time before. Seeing that the little wife was not overeager to prepare the fish, he grew angry and finally struck her. His stepfather intervened, saying: "Well, and was it to have a woman to beat that you married?" This was enough to send Beni silently out of the house and into hiding, where he took the drug.

About the same time, another suicide occurred in Igarapé de Belém. A boy of sixteen returned with his relatives from a labor festival. He was not drunk, but when the canoe touched the bank, they noticed that he leaped ashore angry, for no perceptible reason. He ran up the slope above, entered the house, where he immediately mounted the platform (giráu), and flung himself under the mosquito

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net. His mother and aunt, taking their burden baskets, went to fetch manioc roots, which they had put to soak; the uncle was bathing near by. Aside from the youth, there remained in the house only a little boy some seven years old. Suddenly the youth fell from the platform, which was about 2½ m. above the ground, and for some time remained immobile on the floor. Then he said: "Why didst thou quarrel with me? Now I shall leave!" He arose and took to the jungle. The little boy followed him in bewilderment; but the youth, noticing him, left the trail and hid himself. A little later he returned to the house, staggering, fell upon a box, and there died of the poison he had taken.

There is one very serious motive for feuds and murder among the Tukuna: the suspicion that certain persons are using their magical powers to the detriment of others. Without exaggeration, this suspicion affects 10 per cent of the total population, with varying intensity; it is confirmed and accepted by some, denied by others. In the section on "Magic and Religion" I shall discuss this subject in more detail.

*Drunkenness.*—Drunkenness is the Tukuna's national vice and their only one. At their feasts, men, women, and children drink, and perhaps half the men and a tenth of the women and children become intoxicated. Many continue to dance even when drunk, beating a drum and singing without annoying anyone; but some become troublesome and offensive. Others, exclusively men, drink until they collapse into a hammock or in some corner, or even in the yard, where they vomit and sleep it off; still others grow quarrelsome, provoking more or less serious brawls that result in injuries or even deaths.

The small extent to which alcohol arouses the sexual instinct in Indians is notable; the youths drink, dance, and beat drums with their companions throughout the nights and days, apparently having no eyes for the girls, who in groups of two to five are doing the same thing. I have never seen Tukuna youths, whether drunk or sober, fighting over girls.

However, at these parties, in some corner of the house or yard there is invariably a group of men, already more or less senile, who humor themselves with obscene jokes, accompanied by hoots of laughter and illustrative gestures, though they never annoy the opposite sex with their nastiness.

*Industry.*—One cannot tax the Tukuna with being "most indolent," as did Ribeiro de Sampaio; and the yarn about the Indian who lives with his family for a whole week on a bunch of bananas, passing the entire time sleeping or swinging in his hammock, appears quite different to a firsthand observer.

Except for those who are on the road to ruin because of their dependence upon civilized establishments, above all on rum stills, the Tukuna maintain a stable economy in their own lives. Many of them through their own efforts succeed in obtaining such material improvements as good firearms, iron tools, and sufficient clothing—even sewing machines.

Unmarried youths work least—when they do not hire themselves out to the Neobrazilians—but girls and married couples are hardly ever idle except after sundown. Usually, whenever I sought out a Tukuna, it happened that nobody was at home, or at most, only the children were. It was necessary to wait until afternoon when the owners returned to the house from their work. The reason that

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***Property.***—The Tukuna apparently lack the concept of a rigidly delineated territorial zone as the tribal patrimony. They never protest against Neobrazilian usurpation of almost all the lands formerly at their disposal, nor do they squabble over boundaries with the Neobrazilians or with other tribes. In fact, the region is so immense and the population so scanty that difficulty over land rarely arises, as it may do when a *civilizado* forces an Indian to abandon his own plot because the land now belongs to the former or when sharpers extort "taxes" from the Indians inhabiting lands which never belonged to any civilized person. 423 648 131

Formerly the Tukuna were restricted to certain areas by the presence of neighboring tribes, some of them avowed enemies, like the Omágua and the Mayoruna. With the disappearance of this pressure the Tukuna began to spread out beyond their territorial limits, knowingly, but without any scruples.

A Tukuna will not quarrel with a Neobrazilian over land or over fish in the igarapé; even less will he quarrel with his tribesmen. As for land, he desires only that it be productive; it does not enter his mind to pass land on to his descendants, nor does he sell it as his own property. If his children move, they lay no claim even to the fruit trees their parents planted at the old site. Everywhere there are Tukuna taperas (abandoned, jungle-grown plantations) with numerous fruit trees. Who planted them and where the former owner is now living is well known, but once he abandons his property, anyone who so wishes may take possession. 423 [648] [578]

A house is the property of the person who constructed it or ordered it built—usually the head of the family—who may abandon, sell, or give it away over the protests of other family members. The clearing belongs, not to the man who felled the trees, but to the woman who planted and weeded it, as we have seen in the discussion of divorce, though the entire family, if normally organized, benefits from its produce. In general, each person, even a child, is the owner of whatever he makes or of whatever is made for him.

***Inheritance.***—Objects used exclusively by men may not be inherited by women, and vice versa. When I asked an Indian, who had neither sons nor brothers, who would inherit his shotgun, he answered that it would belong to his son-in-law. If the couple should separate, he said, his daughter would keep the weapon and give it to her next husband; thus, the actual inheritor was the daughter. Normally, the legacy passes from father to son or, if there are no sons, to a brother, brothers-in-law being considered only if there are no sons or brothers. Correspondingly, daughters inherit their mother's property. I have never observed any disappointment or disagreement over inheritance, even when the objects were relatively valuable, such as firearms or a sewing machine. 428

## Chiefs

There is absolutely no political organization today. The Tukuna never had a supreme head, and a clan government could not obtain because the clans were not localized. But what they apparently did have until not too remote times were chiefs of local groups inhabiting the various igarapés tributary to the Solimões. These heads of large families possessed magical powers, intelligence, and ability to deal with strangers, especially with the *civilizados*. Owing to these qualities, they gained a limited ascendancy over fellow members of the group who would approach them 622

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their father had turned over to him, one after the other, because of his high regard for ču'nsk|. Besides this typical example of sororal polygyny, I know of three other unions in which an Indian married two sisters simultaneously.

The levirate is said to have been formerly frequent and considered meritorious, but not obligatory. I myself have never encountered it, but I do know of two widowers each of whom married the widow of his brother; each widow already had children. More numerous are instances of bigamy in which the two women are not sisters and belong to different clans; I knew of eight such unions.

Sometimes the particular circumstances that prompt bigamy are interesting. Antonio juruti', though married for many years, never had any children, so he took another wife, a niece of the first—but with the same result. When João Arapaço va'ičak|'s first wife had a child, at his wife's request he summoned her niece to his house to help her, since the niece was getting on badly with her stepfather, who could not abide her. Some time later, va'ičak| took this nurse of his child as his second wife, with her aunt's full consent. The wife of a certain Jeronymo of the Rio Jacurapá happened to fall ill just when his large crop of manioc should have been made into flour, for which reason he asked for, and received in marriage, his second wife.

There are, however, women who will not consent to their husband's taking a second helpmate. The best sculptress of tucumã figurines, e'k|rane, was married to Anastacio daune'k|, who never begot a child with her. He then proposed to her that he marry a second woman, but she resolutely opposed this, preferring a separation. Anastacio did marry the other woman, who lived only in a state of illness, being passed from one shaman to another, for she also was barren.

In general, two wives live in harmony and help each other unless the difference in their ages is too great. If it is, the situation becomes a bit whimsical. Rufino bo/k|'rak|, some forty years old and married to a woman of the same age, was the father of various children. His eldest daughter was already married and expecting her first child when, at his second daughter's puberty ceremony, he married a girl eighteen years old. The natural consequence of the striking difference in the ages of the two wives was that the second, instead of considering herself the companion of the first, associated with the young girl, her stepdaughter.

*Jealousy.*—According to Tessmann, in case of adultery the husband fights his rival. But I know of no fights between persons of the same sex because of jealousy. On the other hand, among spouses jealousy causes violent scenes (see p. 51), which may lead to separation.

A husband who realizes that his wife has just reasons for jealousy forces himself to bear calmly vituperation and even a shower of blows, "if he is a serious man," according to the expression of one of my informants, who very calmly confessed that in fifteen years of married life he had been thrashed some twenty times by his jealous wife. The wife receives the same treatment, but such scenes, unless unduly repeated, cause little scandal.

*Divorce.*—I never heard of a husband's having murdered his wife, but what may happen, if there is dissension, is that either will obtain a divorce. The wife's relatives will not permit gross maltreatment of her by the husband; hence, if he maltreats her and conciliatory intervention proves fruitless, they force her to re-